Early Japan AB3 For example,

Look at the region along the Ishikari River before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai*[a] and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

[a] *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu-land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melanesians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbariam and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

304
563
[178
171]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 563 *Woman.* Oh, Sir, I'm ashamed of them. They mark me off from the Japanese as a being apart from themselves and they look down on me as something inferior.

Self. What makes you think the Japanese look down on you for being tattooed?

Woman. They do. I feel it. They speak to me in the lowest of coolie language. They seem to treat untattooed people better than they do those tattooed. Please take it out for me if you can.

Self. But why did you have it done?

Woman. I didn't, Sir. My mother did it all, and it was begun when I was very small and continued till I grew up.

Self. Oh, I see. I am very sorry, but I have already asked a good city doctor about it, and he tells me that it has been cut too deeply into the skin, and as the colouring is indelible it cannot be removed.

304 The poor woman was greatly distressed and left my room weeping bitterly. She wanted to raise herself to the level of her Japanese sisters, but the tattoo marks kept her back. And even when I told her that, did she show herself worthy, the tattoo would be no greater stumbling block to her than the blackened teeth of old-time Japanese women were in their case, she would not be comforted. Yet notwithstanding all this, strange as it may appear, even now, when having a dance or friendly meeting among themselves, the young women at times don their ornaments and paint each other with Indian ink; but as soon as the fun is over they go and carefully wash it all off again and return to normal. We have often seen this done in the back quarters of our home in Sapporo.

304 177 Right from the very beginning, I tried to get the women to leave off this custom, but I soon found my-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

shanties besides the Ainu huts. At the mouth of the Tcharobets, near the latter village, coal and lignite of inferior quality are found; but this coalfield was not worked at the time I passed through Shiranuka. The remaining twenty-one miles were monotonous and uninteresting. The long *Kossuri* peninsula was before me, increasing in size as I drew nearer; and after having gone through the two small villages of To'tori and Akan-gawa, in the neighbourhood of Kossuri, I crossed the Kutcharo River, on a nicely-built wooden bridge, and found myself at Kushiro, an important Japanese settlement on the south-east coast. From its favourable situation Kushiro is likely to become one of the chief towns in Yezo, though unfortunately it does not possess a good harbour, and is much exposed to westerly winds. The largest number of the houses are situated on a slight elevation above the reef-harbour, immediately south of the river mouth. In the proximity of Kushiro, and just beyond the range of hills which stretches for about three miles from the entrance of the harbour in a northerly, and for about two miles in an easterly direction, is a lagoon, called by the Ainu "Harutori." This lagoon is nearly two miles long, and certainly not more than a quarter of a mile wide. It is divided from the sea by a very narrow strip of sand, through which the water of the lagoon finds its outlet. On the east side of the Harutori coal has been discovered, and it seems to be of fairly good quality; and three miles further, quite close to the sea-coast, coal was dug out some years ago, but the quality was so inferior that the works had to be abandoned.

There is a considerable area of good land in the neighbourhood of Kushiro, and here again it is to be regretted that Japanese farmers do not emigrate to work it. Yezo has a very small population for its size, and I was surprised that emigration from the mainland was not carried out on a larger scale. Yezo is a rich country in many ways. Why do not all the troublesome students, the fiery *soshi* of Japan, abandon politics and futile rows and go and do men's work in that northern region of the empire? They would profit by it, and so would their country. An immense loss occurs every year simply because no one is there to take the profit; and it is a great pity, and almost a shame, to see so much waste and neglect in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the seashore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half-breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal
142 bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred
1732 Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often
164 affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards. At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses contained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts, to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Although the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabulated as follows:

F.J. 175 /122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G 131 175 [198] [563] /122 cont./ began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G 131 175 In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether G [194] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A 175 131 184 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half A 175 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. 131 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan E.I. 175 187

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de omdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

A [113]

K 175 131 167 A 175 /127 cont./ the next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

K [101] Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

A
K
175
563
484

/127 cont./ with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

K
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile